

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 075528
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 IO-14 HA-05 ACDA-12 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02
SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 SIG-03
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DRAFTED BY AF/P:BARUSSELL:ADR
APPROVED BY AF/P:RWHOLLIDAY
-----111731 232346Z /64

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 075528

FOR MOOSE

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE OF MARCH 23, 1978 ENTITLED
"RHODESIAN PACT: HOW EFFECTIVE?"

FOLLOWING IS THE NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE BY JOHN F. BURNS
ENTITLED "RHODESIAN PACT: HOW EFFECTIVE?" WHICH APPEARED

ON MARCH 23, 1978:

THE RHODESIA HERALD, NORMALLY A CAUTIOUS NEWSPAPER,
PROCLAIMED IN A BANNER HEADLINE TODAY, "END TO WHITE RULE."
BUT ON THE DAY AFTER THREE BLACK LEADERS JOINED PRIME
MINISTER IAN D. SMITH IN A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT, IT WAS
BEING ASKED HERE WHETHER THE NATIONALISTS WOULD HAVE REAL
AUTHORITY OR HAVE BEEN CO-OPTED INTO AN ADMINISTRATION
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THAT WILL PERPETUATE THE PREFERMENT OF WHITE INTERESTS TO
BLACK.

THE EARLY PORTENTS WERE MIXED. MR. SMITH, SOUNDING AT
TIMES SATISFIED AND AT TIMES RESIGNED, TOLD REPORTERS
AFTER THE SWEARING-IN CEREMONY THAT HE ALONE COULD NOT
ANSWER THEIR QUESTIONS ON SUCH CRUCIAL ISSUES AS THE CON-

DUCT OF THE WAR AND THE TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE.
"THOSE ARE QUESTIONS FOR THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL," HE SAID,
REFERRING TO THE NEW BODY COMPOSED OF HIMSELF AND THE
BLACK LEADERS THAT HAS TAKEN NOMINAL CONTROL OF THE
GOVERNMENT.

AFTER MEETING FOR ITS FIRST SESSION, HOWEVER, THE
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ADJOURNED FOR EIGHT DAYS. SINCE MR.
SMITH WILL RETAIN THE POST OF PRIME MINISTER AND ITS
STATUTORY POWERS THROUGHOUT THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, THE
IMPLICATION WAS THAT, AT THE OUTSET AT LEAST, NO REAL
POWER HAS BEEN TRANSFERRED. ONLY LATER WILL IT BECOME
APPARENT WHETHER THE 58-YEAR-OLD WHITE LEADER, WHO
SPENT A DECADE DEVISING STRATAGEMS AGAINST BLACK RULE, WILL
HONOR HIS PLEDGE TO TREAT HIS NEW PARTNERS AS EQUALS.

CABINET APPOINTMENTS AWAITED

NEXT WEEK, THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WILL APPOINT THE SECOND
TIER OF THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION, AN 18-MEMBER
MINISTERIAL COUNCIL, OR CABINET, IN WHICH WHITE AND BLACKS
WILL BE EQUALLY REPRESENTED, WITH EACH OF THE NINE POSTS
BEING HELD JOINTLY BY A BLACK AND WHITE MINISTER.

THIS WILL REQUIRE THE APPOINTMENT OF BLACKS TO SUCH KEY
AGENCIES AS THE MINISTRY OF COMBINED OPERATIONS, WHICH
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SUPERVISES THE WAR AGAINST BLACK GUERRILLAS, AND TO THE
MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER, WHICH OVERSEES A JUDICIAL
SYSTEM THAT HAS BEEN ONE OF A BULWARK OF WHITE DOMINATION.

UNDER THE AGREEMENT SIGNED BY MR. SMITH AND THE BLACK

LEADERS THREE WEEKS AGO, OVERALL AUTHORITY IN THE PROVISIO-
NAL GOVERNMENT WILL REST WITH THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. BUT
THE AGREEMENT ALSO PROVIDED THAT THE RULING BODY WILL
OPERATE BY CONSENSUS, MEANING THAT EACH OF THE FOUR
LEADERS RETAINS A VETO. ON SOME ISSUES, SUCH AS DESEGREG-
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WILL BE POWERFUL PRESSURES ON MR. SMITH TO BLOCK MOVES
TOWARD BLACK EMANCIPATION.

ANOTHER DIVISIVE ISSUE COULD BE THE WAR. BLACK SUSPICIONS
HAVE BEEN AROUSED BY THE DISCLOSURE THAT MR. SMITH
RECENTLY SCRAPPED THE 11-MEMBER WAR COUNCIL THAT HAS
BEEN SETTING POLICY AND APPROVING MAJOR OPERATIONS,
PASSING DAY-TO-DAY CONTROL OF THE MILITARY AND THE
POLICE TO A SMALLER BODY COMPOSED OF THE COMMANDING OFF-
ICERS AND SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS. SINCE MR. SMITH AND

OTHER WHITE MINISTERS SAT ON THE WAR COUNCIL, THE DECISION APPEARED TO REMOVE POLITICIANS FROM IMMEDIATE INVOLVEMENT IN MILITARY MATTERS.

CRUCIAL ISSUE FOR BLACKS

THE CONCERN AMONG BLACKS WAS THAT THE CHANGE COULD BLOCK THEM FROM EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE ON MILITARY POLICY, A CRUCIAL MATTER FOR THEM SINCE THEY HOPE TO PERSUADE THE 5,000 GUERRILLAS NOW RANGING THE COUNTRY TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS. TO MAKE THE APPEAL CREDIBLE, THE GOVERNMENT FORCES ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL HAVE TO ABANDON SOME OF THEIR HARSHER TACTICS, SUCH AS THE ROUGH TREATMENT OF GUERRILLAS WHO HAVE SURRENDERED OR BEEN CAPTURED AND RAIDS THAT HAVE UNCLASSIFIED

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KILLED THOUSANDS OF GUERRILLA RECRUITS AT CAMPS IN ZAMBIA AND MOZAMBIQUE.

ANOTHER PROBLEM FACING THE THREE BLACKS ON THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, BISHOP ABEL MUZOREWA, THE REV. NDABANINGI SITHOLE AND SENATOR JEREMIAH CHIRAU, IS THAT THE BUREAUCRACY, MILITARY AND CIVIL, IS ENTIRELY IN WHITE HANDS. THE AGREEMENT MAKES NO PROVISION FOR BLACKS TO BE APPOINTED TO SENIOR POSTS AND EFFECTIVELY BLOCKS ANY RAPID ADVANCEMENT BY REQUIRING THE MAINTENANCE OF A WHITE-CONTROLLED CIVIL SERVICE BOARD THAT WILL MAKE ALL APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS AND DISCHARGES. UNTIL NOW, THE BUREAUCRACY HAS BEEN A BASTION OF WHITE CONSERVATISM.

BLACKS ALSO ARE ASKING WHETHER MR. SMITH GAVE HIS PARTNERS ACCESS TO ALL PERTINENT GOVERNMENT INFORMATION. ALREADY, OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN POINTING ANXIOUSLY TO THE BLACK LEADERS' HABIT OF PASSING MINUTES OF CONFIDENTIAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH MR. SMITH TO THE PRESS, IMPLYING THAT THE PRACTICE WILL HAVE TO BE KEPT IN MIND NOW THAT THEY ARE IN POSITIONS OF NOMINAL AUTHORITY WITHOUT FULL BRIEFINGS, THE NATIONALISTS COULD FIND THEMSELVES LIKE

OFFICERS ON THE BRIDGE OF A STORM-TOSSED SHIP WHO HAVE NO LINE TO THE ENGINE ROOM

IN ADDITION, THE BLACK LEADERS ARE DIVIDED AMONG THEMSELVES, EACH LOOKING FORWARD TO THE ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE ELECTION PROVIDED FOR IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACCORD. NO DATE FOR THE VOTE HAS BEEN SET, BUT THE GOVERNMENT THAT EMERGES FROM IT IS DUE TO TAKE OFFICE ON DEC. 31.

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AGAINST THE PRESSURES TO STICK TOGETHER IN FACE OF THE CHALLENGE BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, THE GUERRILLA ALLIANCE, THERE WILL BE STRONG TEMPTATIONS FOR EACH OF THE BLACK LEADERS TO MAKE POLITICAL CAPITAL BY TAKING AN INDEPENDENT LINE ON SENSITIVE ISSUES.

FINALLY, MR. SMITH HAS TO PRESENT THE ACCORD FOR APPROVAL TO THE EXISTING, WHITE DOMINATED ELECTORATE, A REQUIREMENT THAT HE MAY CITE AS A REASON FOR NOT MOVING SWIFTLY TO DISMANTLE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND RELEASE BLACK POLITICAL PRISONERS, ANOTHER MATTER ENTRUSTED TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. ALREADY, A RIGHT-WING WHITE FACTION, THE RHODESIA ACTION PARTY, HAS BEGUN CAMPAIGNING AGAINST THE AGREEMENT, CALLING IT A CAPITULATION.

AMONG BLACKS IN URBAN CENTERS SUCH AS SALISBURY, WIDESPREAD APPROVAL OF THE ACCORD HAS BEEN BALANCED BY ANXIETIES OVER ITS SHORTCOMINGS. BISHOP MUZOREWA, ADDRESSING THE LARGEST POLITICAL GATHERING EVER HELD IN THE COUNTRY, ACKNOWLEDGED AT THE WEEKEND THAT THE AGREEMENT WAS "FAR FROM PERFECT."

HOW IT IS CARRIED OUT IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD - WHETHER MR. SMITH EXPLOITS THE LOOPHOLES OR COOPERATES IN A MANNER THAT SATISFIES BLACK ASPIRATIONS - MAY DETERMINE WHETHER THE MONTHS AHEAD COME TO BE SEEN AS A HISTORICAL CURIOSITY, LIKE THE KERENSKY PERIOD IN THE SOVIET UNION, OR AS THE PERIOD IN WHICH WHITES FINALLY CAME TO TERMS WITH THE INEVITABILITY OF BLACK RULE.
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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AF-10 /038 R

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APPROVED BY:S/S-O:JTHYDEN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM SECSTATE WASHDC DATED MARCH 23,
1978 SENT ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS, JIDDA IS REPEATED
TO YOU: QUOTE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 mar 1978
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 jan 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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From: STATE
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Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Review Release Date: N/A
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SAS ID: 3220709
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE OF MARCH 23, 1978 ENTITLED "RHODESIAN PACT: HOW EFFECTIVE?" FOLLOWING IS THE NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE BY JOHN F.
TAGS: PFOR, SOPN, PDEV, US, UK, RH
To: AF POSTS JIDDA
Type: TE
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